

palestine perspectives

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credit: Ghosson Bishara

Long Live Palestine!

An Open Letter to Senator Kennedy: Built in American Bias

The following open letter to Senator Kennedy, presented here as a guest editorial, was written by Clouis Maksoud, Permanent Observer of the Arab League to the U.N.

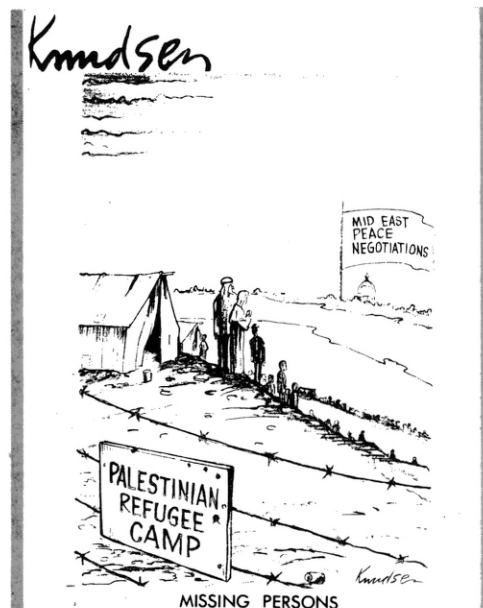
Dear Senator Kennedy:

I read with great interest a report of your speech last night at the meeting of the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations in New York. I was indeed very surprised and pained to see you 'jumping to conclusions' concerning the nature of a Palestinian state without either in-depth analysis or any indication of an input of Palestinian and Arab perceptions.

It is in the nature of a 'leap to conclusion' to state categorically that a Palestinian state would be, to quote you and Mr. Lane Kirkland, "a pro-Soviet state in the energy heartland of the world". May I remind you that similar statements were often heard by South African racists and white Rhodesians when they sought, as they still do, to preempt the emergence of independent African states in Namibia and Zimbabwe. Your attack on the legitimate aspirations and rights of the Palestinians in order to satisfy biased Zionist groups is but a form of "McCarthyism". In addition it is a resort to the well-known scare technique when you point out that the Palestinian state would be located "in the energy heartland of the world". I am surprised that a distinguished senator of your caliber should not be sensitive to this form of innuendo which paralyzes objective inquiry.

Dear Senator Kennedy,

On what facts do you base your assertion that the emergency of a Palestinian state would be "a geopolitical disaster"? How can you, as a banner bearer of liberal democracy deny a people the exercise of their right of national self-determination? How can you acquiesce to a position which is contradictory to all U.N. resolutions? By what right do you, as an aspirant for the presidency of the U.S., set aside natural, normal and national rights of the Palestinians while you sponsor and underwrite Israel's privilege and exclusiveness? Can you, dear Senator, find any explanation for Israel's continued establishment of new settlement in the West Bank; can you explain its ex-cathedra annexation of all



Jerusalem; or its continued and repeated attacks on southern Lebanon? Where consistency is demanded, the double standard on the vital and delicate issues of the Middle East becomes too obvious to be glossed over.

I know, my dear Senator, that you may not have much time to read lengthy rebuttals but I am taking the liberty of sending you, under separate cover, two books on the Palestinians. One of your aides might give you a synopsis of these. I still hope that policy objectivity would prevail over instinctive political considerations with its built-in bias against Palestinians and Arabs.

In an almost forgotten 1960 letter to a Jewish-American author, Alfred M. Lilienthal, your late brother John stated: "I wholly agree with you that American partiality in the Arab-Israeli conflict is dangerous to both the United States and the free world".

Defend the People of Ramallah

Zionist settlers from the fanatic Gush Emunim and Jewish Defense League have entered the Palestinian town of Ramallah on several occasions in late April terrorizing the townspeople and destroying property what is clearly a move to assert Zionist control over Palestinian cities.

On April 23, Israeli vigilantes, according to the Washington Post of April 24, "on a rampage, smashed car and shop windows of Arabs in this occupied West Bank town (Ramallah) late last night." . . . A Gush Emunim settler, told journalists that the window smashing was to "teach the Arabs a lesson."

On April 28, Jewish Defense League members, headed by Rabbi Meir Kahane, a U.S. citizen who propounds a fascist philosophy towards Palestinians, attempted to serve "deportation orders" on the mayor of Ramallah, Karim Khalaf. Palestinian municipal employees and students mobilized to defend Khalaf, and Israeli soldiers eventually broke up the confrontation. Residents of many West Bank towns conducted

commercial strikes the same day to protest the Ramallah incident.

The soldiers of the Israeli military occupation do little to prevent the right-wing settlers from attacking Palestinians. Indeed, on April 10, as reported in the New York Times of April 11, Israeli soldiers invaded the Teachers Training College in Ramallah, and according to student interviews, beat students, and arrested them. 21 year old Zakaris Suror reported that "in the vehicles on the way to prison, he and others were forced at knife-point to repeat slogans, with obscene names for Yasir Arafat, head of the Palestine Liberation Organization and were compelled to say: "Palestinians lost their land; we have no right to the land."

As May 26, 1980, the deadline for the "autonomy" negotiations approaches, we can expect more attacks on Palestinians in Ramallah and in other towns throughout the West Bank. All people concerned with Palestinian rights and human rights anywhere, should be alerted to defend the people of the West Bank and Gaza against this most recent wave of vicious attacks.



Egyptian National Movement Representative Hakim scores Sadat.



credit: Ghassan Bishara

March to White House Affirms "No Peace without the PLO!"

In the midst of President Carter's discussions with Sadat and Begin, 2,000 protestors gathered in Washington, D.C. on April 12 to make the point to the American people that Carter, Sadat and Begin did not speak for the Palestinian people and that only Palestinian self-determination provided a key to peace in the Middle East. Marching under the slogan "No Peace without the Palestinians, no Palestinians without the PLO," the demonstrators chanted "No to Sadat the traitor, Begin the terrorist and Carter the imperialist!" and "Today Iran, tomorrow Palestine."

Rallying in Lafayette Park across from the White House, the crowd listened as representatives from El Salvador, Iran, Black Americans and U.S. progressive groups affirmed their solidarity with the Palestinian people and the PLO. Stokeley Carmichael from the All African People Revolutionary Party linked Black and Palestinian oppression and urged a worldwide struggle against racism and imperialism. Sheila Ryan of the Palestine Solidarity Committee condemned growing U.S. militarism and reminded the audience of the possibility of a "Vietnam in the Middle East." She pointed out that the new head of the Rapid Deployment Force, the 110,000 person U.S. "strike-force" designed to intervene in the Gulf area, is Robert Komer, former head of the so-called "Phoenix program" in Vietnam. Under this program, the practice of torturing Vietnamese peasants and setting fire to their homes became so notorious that

Komer was known as "Blowtorch Bob."

Speakers from the Palestine Information Office, the United Holy Land Fund and the Organization of Arab Students explained the Palestinian and Arab opposition to the Camp David agreements, which attempt to legitimize the slavery of the part of the Palestinian people living under military occupation, while ignoring the rights of Palestinians living in exile or as third-class citizens inside the Zionist state.

The speaker from the Egyptian National Movement, Tahir Abdel Hakim, predicted that the Arab people of Egypt—the people of Ahmed Arabi, Saad Zoghlool and Abdul Nasser—will crush Sadat and defeat his sellout policies. The Lebanese National Movement representative declared that Lebanon is an extension of the Palestinian struggle and that Arab Lebanon is honored to have the Palestinian revolution and Palestinian guns within it.

The struggle for Palestinian rights was brought to the U.S. arena by lawyer Abdeen Jabara who described the ordeal of Ziad Abu Ein, a 19 year old Palestinian presently imprisoned in Chicago awaiting possible extradition to Israel. Ziad has been on a hunger strike since March 28, and although he is hospitalized, his spirit is determined and he affirms: "I will not allow myself to be made a guinea pig locked in a cage."

As the rally ended, several hundred helium-filled balloons, with Palestinian flags tied to them were released and flew in all directions, including over the White House. The demonstration was organized by the

Palestine Congress of North America, and many local community groups participated to make the demonstration a success.



Sadat, Begin Visit Washington: No Rescue for Camp David

The fanfare, state dinners and praise bestowed on both Sadat and Begin in their April visits to Washington, D.C. could not quite conceal the failure of the Camp David agreements.

The Palestinian people, of course, have declared from the beginning of the Camp David process their total and unqualified rejection of it, not because Palestinians are warmongers rejecting peace, but rather because these agreements were decided upon without their consent and do not answer the minimum demands of a people struggling for self-determination. Now, as the May 26, 1980 deadline for the conclusion of talks on Palestinian "autonomy" is close, it is clear that even under the conditions set by the U.S. and Sadat, neither an advocate of real self-determination for the Palestinians, Israel must concede more than it is willing to concede.

It has always been thought that the U.S. is the only power which could extract concessions from Israel, but given the national elections this year, it is inconceivable that Carter, knowing the power of the Zionist lobby in the U.S., could pressure Israel—the opposite is nearer the truth. But because of domestic considerations in Egypt and the U.S., the actor with the leading role in the Camp David production, Jimmy Carter, decided to call both Begin and Sadat to Washington in order to create the impression in Egypt and in the U.S. that the Camp David process is still alive.

Sadat as tame and compromising as ever

Anwar el-Sadat, upon his own urging, was invited to the White House for a visit from April 7th through the 10th, meeting three times with his "friend" Jimmy Carter. A dinner was given in his honor at the White House as well. During his stay in Washington, Sadat met with Secretary of Defense Brown, Lane Kirkland, a labor leader who recently called the PLO and "international terrorist organization," Jewish leaders, and with his old friend and hero, Henry Kissinger. He also received the "Prince of Peace Award" from the United States.

At the White House, in an exchange of toasts, Jimmy Carter said in welcoming his guest Anwar el-Sadat that when Sadat walked into the White House, there was "an instant feeling of warmth and friendship and common purpose, and even a degree of love," towards him. Having dealt with Sadat before, and being aware of his need for praise, Carter went on to pump Sadat's ego on every level. Carter said of Sadat that "he

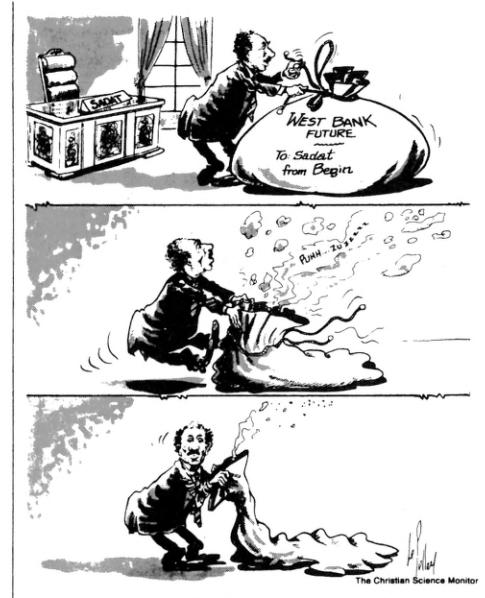
is possibly the most popular man not only in our country, but in most parts of the world." Privately, however, U.S. officials don't think too highly of Sadat's intellectual and negotiating abilities. Henry Kissinger was quoted by an Israeli author to have said that Sadat is the most stupid leader he dealt with.

Responding to Carter's toast, Sadat said that the President of the United States "has demonstrated (his) sensitivity to other people suffering and denial of rights." It is assumed that Sadat meant that Carter is sensitive to the rights of the Palestinians. It is of course, Carter's much publicized policy to defend the human rights of people—reserving for himself the privilege of defining "human" to mean Soviet dissidents primarily. It is, at the same time, his Administration's State Department which fired Alexandra Johnson, a foreign service officer in the U.S. Consulate in East Jerusalem, when she dared to write about systematic torture of Palestinians in Israel.

In recent incident a group of multinationals, activists of the Arab Liberation Front, occupied a building in Kibbutz Misgav Am housing some children for the purpose of freeing a number of their comrades imprisoned in Israel. The "glorious" and "victorious" Israeli army stormed the building, despite the Israeli children in it, causing the death of two Israelis and the five occupiers. No mention was made anywhere of the fact that the "brave" Israeli army did not hesitate to storm a building housing Israeli children. On April 7th, the U.S. State Department volunteered the following statement: "We are deeply shocked and saddened by the senseless act of terrorism...against an Israeli kibbutz. There can be no justification...for such an outrage....We condemn this brutal action and those responsible for it."

On April 18th, upon the return of Menachem Begin to Israel after his visit to Washington, there were reports of an Israeli incursion into South Lebanon and the killing of between six to twenty people, three of them children, according to Newsweek. In response to this incident, the State Department never volunteered any statement of condemnation of the Israeli action. When asked directly about the matter, the State Department spokesman said only: "...this is a matter of concern to us." This tells the Arab people, naturally, how concerned and sensitive the Carter Administration is to the rights of Arabs.

The one proposal Sadat made in regard to the autonomy talks was that the



negotiations be moved to Washington where, he apparently hoped, pressure could be more readily applied on Israel for the sought-after concessions. His "very brilliant" proposal was, however, rejected summarily by Begin during his visit to Washington a week after Sadat's. Begin then counter-proposed that the negotiations be speeded up, with twenty days each in Egypt and Israel—Sadat of course promptly accepted Begin's proposal. Sadat also offered the U.S. use of "every facility to reach the Persian Gulf" and welcomed a pro-Western pact in the Middle East. All other matters regarding autonomy were left to Carter to conclude with Begin. Sadat didn't seem to have pushed his ideas, whatever they are, on Carter with any effort. His visit ended with a lot of pleasantries, affection and love between the Carters and the Sadats.

Begin as intransigent as always

A week after the arrival of Anwar el-Sadat to Washington, Menachem Begin was the guest in the White House. Prior to his departure from Israel, Begin had confiscated 1100 acres in Jerusalem, 375 in Bethlehem and decided with his Cabinet to settle Jews in Hebron, all in defiance of the declared U.S. position against such actions. Moreover, Begin asked and received, as Prime Minister of a "democracy", authorization from his Cabinet not to deviate from the terms of the Camp David agreements, which, it is clear, were from the beginning Begin's own invention with the approval of Sadat and Carter.

(Continued on page 5)

Sadat, Begin . . .

(Continued from page 4)

For the sake of fairness, it should be made clear that Begin is fulfilling the terms of the Camp David agreements to the smallest detail as they are laid down in writing. The outstanding issues between Sadat and Begin and Carter are not, in fact, discussed in the Camp David accords. Settlements, the future of Jerusalem, and its Palestinian population, land and water rights and Palestinian sovereignty are not part of the "ingenious" Camp David agreements. Begin recently said that if any of these topics were part of the Camp David accords he would not have signed it. In his recent appearance before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Secretary Vance was asked if during the Camp David discussions Begin had committed Israel in anyway to cease its settlement activities on Arab land—Vance replied that he had not.

If the Camp David agreements clarify anything, it is the incompetence of Sadat and his team of negotiators versus Begin and his team. Carter, whose aim was a political boost, also took advantage of Sadat's incompetence. Now Carter finds himself powerless to pressure Begin on any issue, even if only to save his friend Sadat. Begin, armed with his Cabinet's approval for only discussions within the terms of Camp David and with the American Jewish community's support of his position was not in the least conciliatory.

Instead of Carter attempting to force Begin to promise some concessions on the issue of autonomy, it was Begin who applied the pressure during the recent meetings. In order to satisfy Israel and its supporters in th

U.S., Carter said: "We have committed ourselves never to negotiate with nor recognize the PLO...." Carter reassured Begin that the U.S. has expressed itself "strongly and forcefully and consistently as being opposed to the establishment of any independent Palestinian state in the West Bank are, "and believes "very strongly...that Jerusalem should be undivided...."

Begin for his part reminded Carter of Israel's help to the United States, citing Israel's role in saving King Hussein in 1970. He said: "I remember when there was a threat of Syrian invasion into Jordan with Soviet help. We were asked (by the U.S. to put an end to that threat) and we put it to an end. And there is another example, which I prefer not to mention tonight." The U.S., Begin implied, owes Israel for its past services on behalf of the U.S. and thus must repay Israel for its support. The U.S. has in the past and no doubt will continue in the future, to pay Israel to its satisfaction.

During a press conference held at Blair House in Washington, Begin dispelled any lingering hopes which may have existed concerning concessions by Israel. In reference to the May 26th target date set for concluding the autonomy talks, Begin said that is is not a deadline—"we believe in life lines, not deadlines," he asserted. If nothing is concluded by that date, Begin assured his audience that the efforts would continue—obviously, Begin and Israel will have all the time needed from Carter and Sadat. When asked if he had faced any pressure from the United States, Begin replied that no pressure was applied on him whatsoever. Begin was also asked whether Carter had requested a freeze until May 26th on Israeli settlements, which the U.S. calls against international

law and an obstacle to peace. Begin's answer was that Carter did not suggest this but that if he had, it would have been refused. "Settlements are legal to us," Begin asserted. "It is our inherent and eternal right to settle anywhere in Judea and Samaria," and that right will not be given up.

Begin's performance at Blair House was typical of his record, i.e., non-conciliatory. He has what he believes is a clear understanding of what Israel's needs and he chooses the means to achieve those needs without any consideration of other circumstances. He was asked what he meant by the term "full autonomy" and he replied by explaining step by step the terms of Camp David, which call for an administrative council for the inhabitants of Judea and Samaria. Jerusalem, Begin said, is the eternal capital of Israel and will never be divided. "The U.S. agrees with us on this," Begin reiterated. Later, he was quoted by the *Washington Post* on April 19th as having said concerning Jerusalem: "I had to reply on this issue Jerusalem is D.C.—David's Capital." Begin continued saying, "may I respond to all of these proposals. Jerusalem—east, west, north, south—all of its is under one sovereignty, that of Israel."

Talking to American Jewish leaders at the Shoreham American Hotel, Sadat's "good friend" said that Israel will never agree to an autonomy plan for the inhabitants of Judea and Samaria if it means "a Palestinian state in name or a Palestinian state in everything but name." Begin, then, as expected, did not move one inch from his familiar position, and neither Carter nor Sadat found a way to mellow Menachem Begin in the least.

In a news conference at the White House,

(Continued on page 10)



Israeli settlements surround Jerusalem. No U.S. pressure on Begin to halt settlement drive.

U.S. Policy Sends Contradictory Signals to Mideast

The Carter administration reversal on the March 1 United Nations Security Council resolution condemning Israeli settlements raises a number of important questions about current U.S. policy and U.S.-Israeli relations, questions that can shed some light on the U.S. position as the autonomy negotiations limp to their May 26 deadline.

The proposed Security Council resolution gained momentum in the wake of an Israeli announcement on February 10 that Jewish settlers would be permitted to move into the Palestinian town of Hebron on the occupied West Bank (later followed by the decision to establish two Jewish schools). This announcement clearly angered the Carter administration, which fears that Israeli intransigence and expansion will sabotage the Camp David agreements, still the cornerstone of Carter policy in the region. While U.S. policy has long publicly stated that Israeli settlements in the occupied territories are "illegal" and an "obstacle to peace," no U.S. administration has been willing to exert even a minimum of pressure on Israel to halt an ever-escalating settlement program.

The yes vote by U.S. Ambassador Donald McHenry on the resolution, which called Israeli settlement policy in the occupied territories including Jerusalem, a "flagrant violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention," and called for the dismantling of existing settlements, was similar to other resolutions voted for by the U.S. in the General Assembly and was a reflection of growing U.S. frustration with the Begin government. In addition, the U.S. vote was part of an attempt to improve relations with the Arab countries, who have shown reluctance to accede to the Carter Doctrine of increased U.S. military presence in the oil-rich, strategic Persian Gulf.

"Faulty Communications"?

After a predictable storm of protest from Israel and the pro-Israel lobby, Carter hastily retracted the U.S. vote in a March 3 statement, blaming the vote on "faulty communications," an explanation met with disbelief by all parties. Such a resolution would logically be subject to the closest scrutiny by the Carter administration.

What then lay behind the Carter flipflop? The spectacle of the "tail wagging the dog"—of the powerful U.S. being dictated to by a client almost totally dependent on it—has further alienated the Arab world, while not placating the Israelis and the pro-Israel lobby. Indeed, Israel is moving ahead with its settlement program at an even more rapid pace (see article in this issue: Hebron: City Under Siege).

Domestic electoral considerations were paramount in Carter's yielding to



highpowered and hard-line Israeli pressure. With the Florida primary immediately in the offing, and a substantial bloc of Jewish voters involved, Carter could not afford the full heat of the pro-Israel lobby. In the longer range, Carter, like all U.S. presidential candidates, sees the "Jewish vote" as a bloc that can be delivered by the lobby, a consortium of well-financed and organized Zionist groups.

This lobby purports to speak for all Jewish voters, an important constituency for any candidate. According to a recent study by Stephen Issacs, *Jews and American Politics*, Jews "normally donate more than half the large gifts of national Democratic campaigns" and "comprise between 10 and 20 percent of all those actively involved in the Democratic side of American politics today."

However, the lobby's hold over Jewish communities may well be overestimated. Even Zionist organizations, like the American Jewish Committee headed by Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg, have expressed certain dissatisfactions with Begin's settlement drive: according to the Jewish Telegraphic Agency of February 15, the AJC informed Begin that its organization "will not defend" the decision to settle in Hebron. More significantly, a September 1979 Los Angeles Times poll showed 44% of all Jewish respondents favoring U.S. negotiations with the PLO. Carter, however, clearly prefers courting the pro-Israel lobby to seeking out oppositional elements in the Jewish communities.

In this attitude, he is enthusiastically joined by the U.S. Congress which has already "rewarded" Israel for its display of anger at U.S. policy. On top of the supplemental aid promised to Israel under

the so-called "peace package" of 1979 and the 1.785 billion given Israel under the FY1981 budget, the House Foreign Affairs Committee included not only the additional 200 million pledged by Carter in December 1979, but another 200 million in military credits.

Carter's Policy: Patterns of Deceit

The scramble for votes, however, is not the only factor in the Carter flipflop. A distinct pattern has emerged in the three and one-half years of the Carter administration. For example, Carter's 1977 statements that he favored a "Palestinian homeland" were replaced by affirmation that a Palestinian state would be a "destabilizing factor;" the joint U.S.-Soviet communique of October 1, 1977 that recognized the "legitimate rights of the Palestinian people," was hastily rescinded six days later by an "Israeli-American working paper."

This pattern of sending contradictory signals is only partly a result of the Israeli pressure that accompanies any deviation in total support for the Zionist state. The "proArab" statements are clearly designed to placate key Arab regimes, and possibly to confuse and divide Palestinians, without changing U.S. support for Israel, its key military ally in the region. Especially since the fall of the Shah of Iran, the U.S. has focused its Mideast policy on the creation of a new military alliance, with Egypt and Israel as its pillars.

A February 27 report in *Ma'ariv*, an influential Israeli daily quoted a BBC correspondent as claiming that the British initiative to modify U.N. resolution 242 was "conceived in the office of U.S. Secretary of State Vance." According to this

correspondent, in early 1979 Vance asked Yale professor Colin Williams, an advisor to the CIA and a senior member of the Aspen Institute for Strategic Studies, to draft a new version of 242 which "should placate the Palestinians but it should not embarrass the U.S. Department of State."

While this report cannot be confirmed, and the Israelis certainly have their own

reasons in publishing it, it is certainly likely that while the U.S. publicly adheres strictly to the Camp David formula and the autonomy talks, it may well be working through the British or other allies to convince key Arab states that a solution to the Palestinian question lies beyond the next Presidential election.

Carter's turnabout, then, reflects the dangerous way the U.S. is gambling with the future of the peoples of the Middle East, as it attempts to draw the governments of the region into military alliances with the U.S. The basic policy of opposing liberation movements and indeed any progressive development in the region has not changed—in fact, it has intensified.

Hebron: City Under Siege

When the Israeli Cabinet voted on March 23 to establish two Jewish schools in the Palestinian town of Hebron on the occupied West Bank, it cited "biblical ties to the city" and the "right of Jews to live anywhere." Much more practical considerations, however seem to have dictated the Begin government's decision to establish a Zionist presence in the heart of a Palestinian city.

A detail from a March 24 New York Times report is instructive: the Times notes that students in both schools would be in a program that "allows concurrent army service." In other words, these "students" are yet another version of the Israeli occupation army that Hebron residents have recently experienced enforcing an 11 day curfew in March, 1980 and breaking up their rallies and meetings this April.

The Hebron decision signals a new stage in the Israeli plan to colonize the West Bank, as does the March 11 seizure of 1100 acres of privately-owned Palestinian land in Jerusalem. Hebron Mayor Fahd Kawasmeh pointed out the pattern of this colonization, saying: "Look at Jerusalem after the 1967 war. They started with just one house, then another and another. They started with one dunum, (quarter acre) then another. Now there are 80,000 Jews in East Jerusalem." Extremists like Agricultural Minister Ariel Sharon and the Gush Emunim have already proposed plans to settle 500 settler families in Hebron by the year's end.

As for the "right of Jews to live anywhere," Kawasmeh has replied that Jews would be welcome to live in Hebron if Palestinians were welcome to return to their homes in Haifa, Jaffa and other cities inside the 1948 borders of Israel.

The Hebron mayor himself is a pointed example that the "rights" the Israeli government embraces do not apply to Arabs. In March, the Israeli military government forbade Kawasmeh from leaving the West Bank to testify at the United Nations Security Council on Israeli settlements in the occupied territories. After Kawasmeh publicly protested the Hebron decision and a 700 person rally and general strike occurred in Hebron, Kawasmeh, according to Israeli Defense Forces radio, was summoned on March 25

to the Military Governor and "seriously admonished." The military government had considered either "trial or banishment" to punish Kawasmeh for expressing his people's views, but Defense Minister Weizman stepped in, apparently fearing that the popular mayor's expulsion would trigger a wave of protest similar to the outrage created by the attempt to expel Nablus mayor Bassem Shakaa last December. Despite the threats, Kawasmeh joined other mayors the next day, March 26, the anniversary of the Egyptian-Israeli treaty, to hold a secret rally to protest Zionist colonization in Hebron.

In addition to furthering this colonization, the Hebron decision was a warning to the U.S. administration that Begin intended to make no concessions in this upcoming summit with Carter, held in Washington in mid-April. The Hebron decision greeted U.S. envoy Sol Linowitz as he arrived for talks with Begin on March 23; as he left,

Begin announced his rejection of a U.S. suggestion for a two month freeze on Israeli settlement activity. The West Bank is already dotted with 65 Israeli settlements, 14 of them founded since the signing of the Camp David accords. Under the "Drobles plan" drafted by the World Zionist Organization and released last spring, about 70 new settlements are already projected.

Many of these new settlements will ring Palestinian towns, as nearby Kiryat Arba, headquarters for the fanatic Gush Emunim, already threatens Hebron. In early February, Meir Indor, a spokesman for Kiryat Arba clearly stated the relations he envisaged between Zionist settlers and Palestinian natives. In an interview with the Hebrew newspaper Al Hamishmar, he said: "The Arabs must know that there is a master here, the Jewish people. It rules over Eretz Israel....The Arabs are temporarily dwellers here."



Israeli soldiers on patrol in occupied West Bank

Open letter to the People of Camp Rashidiyeh



Chairman Arafat meets with Raza Unida Delegation

An 11 member delegation from the Raza Unida Party, a grassroots Chicano political party, visited Lebanon in March, 1980. After their visit to Rashidiyeh, a Palestinian camp near Tyre in South Lebanon that has been heavily bombed and shelled by the Israeli and isolationist forces over the last year, Juan Jose Pena, head of the delegation and Chairman of the Raza Unida party wrote the following letter.

I am writing to express my and the rest of our delegation's strong sense of admiration for the humanity, humanism, strength, concern and deep sense of faith in the face of deep sorrow, suffering, pain and destruction which we observed in the people of your camp. We wanted to know, as Mr. Larry Hill of our delegation put it so well, that your sorrow is our sorrow indeed.

We were, however, also struck by the gaiety, hope, faith and combativity of the youth who followed us everywhere as we walked through the ruins and the destruction caused by the inhumanity of the Zionists' bombs and cannon. The people also displayed an indomitable sense of dignity, pride and hope of a better future to come.

While we admire everywhere the youth, intelligence, determination, hard work and willingness of the Palestinian people to share their spiritual bounty and their limited resources, it was in the simple dignity of your camp that we saw the true heart of the Palestinian people at its very core and your true spirit at its highest peak.

There are no words which can fully express our thanks to you and your people for showing us the true nature of humanity and humanism in its present form, stripped of the cover and guise of the urban environment and of the "civilized sophistication" which so often bars and clouds the love, compassion and brotherhood, caring and sharing, which we as human beings must cultivate as you have done so well in your vineyards of human kindness and compassion.

In a short time, we must leave, but we shall take with us all of that which we have felt, shared and learned among you and your people. Therefore, from our soul and the depths of our heart, let us simply say thank you and may God bless you and speed your return to your land, peace and prosperity, for surely you are most deserving of it.

Thus, with our thanks and our prayers, and our solidarity we remain:

Yours in brotherhood,
Juan Jose Pena

Dear Ambassador Munoz:



Frank Shaeffer - Carona addresses Washington press conference

We have seen with our own eyes the deplorable living conditions forced upon the Palestinian people as a result of their displacement from their homeland by the U.S. and its surrogate invaders of the Holy Land. We have seen the ruins of homes and schools destroyed by sophisticated weapons made in the U.S. with our tax dollars, but without our approval. We have seen with our own eyes the evidence that the Israelis, with the support of the U.S. government, make war on innocent women and children simply because they cannot locate the Palestinian soldiers when they launch their attacks.

We have visited the young people in their schools and spoken with their educators. We are impressed with the accomplishments of the Palestinians in preserving their language, culture, and heritage in the face of impossible odds. In this regard, those of us of the Chicano delegation felt a special kinship in the face of our struggle to educate our young people in spite of the history of violations of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo practiced by the U.S. educational system, not to mention the rest of the government of the occupiers of our land. We found the Palestinian children to be receiving a well-rounded and thorough education—in languages, music, sports, the arts, history, current events, as well as the so-called "basic" subjects.

It is significant to note during Holy Week—a time sacred to all Chicanos and Mexicans—that we have been to the Holy Land, and its people are the Palestinians. We Chicanos, who have felt the sting of displacement and oppression since the invasions of our land in 1836 and 1846, feel a special sort of solidarity with the Palestinians. We have also felt a bond of similarity with the other Arab peoples, not just because of our cultural and hereditary ties through Spain, but because of the clear lessons of history: Just as Texas was not enough, nor was the northern half of Mexico, our true homeland, for U.S. imperialism in the last century; neither would the conquest of Palestine and Lebanon be enough to satisfy the greed of U.S. hegemony in this century. Mexicans and Chicanos know better than anyone the extent and motives of the big white lie oozing forth from the big White House in Washington.

For the U.S. to continue ignoring the just demands of the Palestinian people, for the U.S. to continue promoting the false peace of the Camp David Conspiracy, for the U.S. to continue arming to the teeth those who practice racism and make war

(Continued on page 10)

American Eyewitness Reports Israeli Beating of Students

The following is excerpted from the *Mennonite Weekly Review* of March 27, 1980. The Mennonite Central Committee is a religious and charitable organization active in self-help projects on the occupied West Bank. In mid-March, Jon Ebersole, a Mennonite Central Committee volunteer from Hershey, Pennsylvania, was visiting Bir Zeit University when Israeli soldiers attacked protesting students.

"He walked in front of the officer leading the group, asking to speak to him. He was brushed aside. He again talked to the officer, offering to serve as a go-between to try to defuse the explosive situation. Again he was brushed aside. Several more times Ebersole tried to offer to conciliate, but was rejected each time.

"Finally he was bodily lifted into a jeep, and was later put in the back of a truck and told to lie down so that he could not see what was happening. For a short time his head was covered with a jacket so he could not see. At no time was he struck or otherwise abused.

"Several times while he was in the truck Ebersole talked with the soldiers, indicating that he wanted to provide opportunity to avoid violence by initiating dialogue.

"Later in the day Ebersole was present as a group of five Palestinians, including a university professor of Canadian citizenship, were kicked and beaten with riot control batons. Several had their watches smashed with batons while they were wearing them; others were ordered to remove their watches after which the watches were broken on the ground.

"After the soldiers withdrew, Ebersole went back to the university and observed that many windows in university buildings and in cars parked outside had been smashed by soldiers. He was also shown a spent tear gas canister imprinted with the words, 'Made in U.S.A.'"

Israeli Teenagers Protest Serving in Occupation Army

A 10-month struggle between the Israeli government and a group of Israeli teenagers has brought into public focus the dilemma of some Israeli youth who oppose the Israeli military occupation in the West Bank and Gaza.

On July 25, 1979, a group of 27 high school students addressed an open letter to Israeli Defense Minister Ezer Weizman. They wrote: "By reason of our opposition to the occupation and the oppression of the Palestinian people, we shall refuse to serve in



Palestine contingent marches in Washington anti-draft protest on March 22:

the occupied territories. We are convinced that by our refusal, we contribute to the cause of peace between the Jewish people in Israel and the Palestinian Arab people. We think that the occupation means rule of our people over another and deprivation of its rights; the presence of the Israeli Army forces in the occupied territories means perpetual oppression and creates a chasm of hostility between Israelis and Palestinians—between Israeli and Palestinian youth—and ends the chances of peace between the two peoples. Our military service in the territories means active participation in the carrying out of an intentional policy of oppression and lending a hand to a policy which leads to another war. We shall not reconcile ourselves with the occupation, which turns us into oppressors and the Palestinians into an oppressed people."

On November 29, 1979, one of the "Group of 27," Dani Amir, 19 years old, was called up for army service. When he was informed that he was being sent to an army camp on the occupied West Bank, he refused the order to board the vehicle. His arrest and subsequent sentencing to two 35 day terms of imprisonment provoked another series of public statements from the Group of 27, a petition campaign, letters of protest and a 100 person demonstration in front of the Knesset in December.

In a January 22 press conference protesting Amir's imprisonment, the Group of 27, the Group stated "We demand that the government of Israel recognizes our human rights and allows us not to serve as

an occupation army in the occupied territories. We are ready to pay the price of our conscience and political belief. We are ready to go to prison if that is the alternative the army gives us. We believe it is a waste. We are not ready to betray our human conscience. If the alternative is to be jailer of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories or to be prisoner because of our conscience and political belief—we prefer to be prisoners!"

Weizman: Secret Mission to South Africa

Israel's growing relation with the apartheid regime in South Africa is a sensitive topic in Israeli circles, and agreements between the two states are shrouded in secrecy. In March, however, the Israeli press reported on a secret mission of Defense Minister Weizman to South Africa, and two of the press involved, *Ma'ariv* and the *Jerusalem Domestic Service*, are facing possible legal penalties for violating Israel's strict censorship laws on matters deemed "security" issues.

Weizman's three day trip in mid March, the *Jerusalem Domestic Service* reported on March 19, involved strengthening Israel and South Africa's already "tight cooperation in the fields of economy, commerce and nuclear research." (A CBS television report in February illuminated the nature of this "nuclear research" when it revealed that Israel and South Africa had jointly tested a nuclear bomb in the South Atlantic last September).

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Arafat, on official visit to India, salutes after laying a wreath on tomb of Mahatma Gandhi

Sadat, Begin . . .

(Continued from page 5)

Jimmy Carter was asked about his talks with Sadat and later with Begin, and whether there was any progress in the negotiations for autonomy. Carter's reply was that the three actors "have faced much more formidable obstacles in the past than (they) presently face." At the risk of giving Jimmy Carter undue credit, he must be kidding! There is no doubt that the only solution to the Middle East problem is a total solution of the Palestinian issue. A fake "peace treaty" between Sadat's Egypt and Israel has not changed, and will not change, the reality of the Middle East conflict. The full implementation of the Camp David

accords by Begin and Sadat, as Jimmy Carter said in his news conference, will never bring peace to that troubled region because it ignores the one element without which there can be no peace—the Palestinian people's national rights.

Dear Munoz

(Continued from page 8)

on women, children, and other civilians is to perpetuate the unrest in the Middle East that benefits only the big oil companies and the big multinational banks. It is the most blatant hypocrisy for the U.S. and their puppets the Israelis and their other Marionettes to not recognize the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the

News Briefs

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The Jerusalem Domestic Service also reported that Weizman went to South Africa "perhaps also to sign agreements on the sale of Israeli arms to South Africa." Since the end of 1977, South Africa has been the major buyer of Israeli arms. Israeli arms sales to South Africa include the Reshef class patrol-boat, Gabriel surface-to-surface missiles, Uzi submachine guns and Galil assault rifles and the transfer of large quantities of British-made Centurion tanks.

Protestors Greet Begin's Son

In March, Begin, Menachem Begin's son, spoke in many American cities defending the policies of the Begin government. At his March 18 speech at Catholic University in Washington, D.C., students joined with local community members to expose Begin and his policies to the audience. Protestors peacefully picketed the hall with signs condemning the Israeli military occupation and demanding Palestinian self determination. Leaflets were distributed that detailed Begin's history as an Irgun terrorist, proud of his role in the April 9 Deir Yassin massacre, where Irgun soldiers massacred 254 innocent, Palestinian villagers, including children. The leaflet also noted and documented current policies of torture and Israeli shelling of innocent civilians in South Lebanon.

Inside the hall, Begin was barraged with hostile questions from the student audience, who questioned him on Israeli denial of Palestinian rights, in matters ranging from the March decision to refuse permissions to Mayors Shakaa and Milhelm to visit the U.S. to the Israeli definition of "autonomy" for the "people, not the land." Noting "autonomy" offered the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza nothing but a legitimization of their slavery and continued and escalating confiscation of their land, one member of the audience asked: "What makes you think Palestinians, unlike any other people in the world, would settle for humiliation and slavery, instead of their right to self-determination and freedom?" It was a question Menachem Begin's son did not even try to answer.

Palestinian people. They have certainly recognized them with the insane expenditure of billions of dollars worth of weapons and the genocidal waste of human lives which has plagued this area since 1948. The continuation of the status quo is to legitimize piracy at the highest level. For the U.S., Israel, and Egypt to try to determine the future of the Palestinian people is like a

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Palestinian Women Protest Israeli Theft of Their Culture



The following letter was sent to the Jerusalem Post by the Society of In'ash El-Usra, a charitable women's organization in the town of Bireh on the occupied West Bank.

To the editor of the *Jerusalem Post*
Sir,

The *Jerusalem Post* reported in its issue on the 7th of Feb. 1980 that the El Al Company has designed a uniform based on "The most beautiful national costumes.....emphasizing the Israeli characters of our planes". On the front page a photo of the proposed uniform was displayed.

We, the Arab Palestinian Women, in the Society of In'ash El Usra in Bireh, who specialize in supervising Palestinian embroidery in Palestinian towns and villages, wish to announce to the whole world that this kind of embroidery is an integral part of Palestinian folklore.

For hundreds of years, Palestinian women were making these costumes, picking their colours and creating new designs all the time. Suddenly, we are appalled to be faced with the Israeli occupiers claiming Palestinian embroidery as their own. They are not content with confiscating land and property, robbing homes, and farms and forcibly and unjustly

planting settlements in the midst of our towns and villages, but they insist on forging history and claiming it as their own.

We also wish to denounce strongly such bold distortion of facts and to protest vehemently that the El Al Hostesses should wear our Palestinian costume which is an integral part of our tradition and folklore.

Sameeha S. Khalil
President

Dear Munoz

(Continued from page 10)

pair of thieves conspiring with a man's neighbor, who once defended his friend, but has since been beaten into submission, to decide the fate of that man after stealing his house, raping his wife, and beating his children.

Viva el espiritu de la revolucion Mexicana,
Frank Shaffer-Corona

D.C. Board of Education
Washington Representative
Member, At-Large
La Raza Unida Party

Ambassador Munoz is the Mexican
Ambassador to the U.N.

Muskie's Record: Down the Line for Israel

The appointment of Edmund Muskie, Democratic senator from Maine, as the Secretary of State is seen in Washington as an attempt to gain the respect and support Jimmy Carter is seeking at home and abroad, following the resignation of Cyrus Vance. Muskie, a well-known senator in the U.S., is not especially associated with foreign policy issues and many U.S. allies are not very familiar with him. One U.S. ally, Israel, has praised Muskie's appointment, calling him a "friend of Israel," which he truly is.

Muskie's experience with foreign policy is limited, serving on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee from 1972-74. All along, however, he has been a well-known figure within the ranks of the Democratic party, running for Vice-President of the U.S. in 1968 and making an unsuccessful bid for the Democratic nomination for President in 1976.

In the U.S. and the Senate, Muskie is labeled as a liberal who, in general, supports government spending on social programs, agrees with cuts in the



Changing of guards but no change for Palestinian rights

defense budget and backs a policy of detente with the Soviet Union. In the tradition of American liberalism, however, he is blind to the suffering of the Palestinian people and strongly supports the policies of the Israeli state, seeing it as the main ally of the U.S. in the Middle East.

Reviewing Muskie's voting record in the Senate makes clear his unconditional support for Israel. In 1978, out of eight votes regarding the Middle East, Muskie voted seven times in favor of Israel. In the

eighth vote, he agreed that the U.S. should provide financial aid to refugees, including Palestinians.

In 1979, his voting record was much the same. Out of seven votes relating to the Arab-Israeli conflict, Muskie voted four times in support of the Israeli position, once again favoring financial aid to refugees and twice didn't indicate any position. Muskie's policies, then, as Secretary of State, will be very unlikely to bring any fresh perspectives into U.S. policy towards the Middle East.

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This issue marks two years of publishing *Palestine Perspectives*, two critical years in the history of Palestine and the Middle East. Throughout this period, *Palestine Perspectives* has presented news and analyses difficult to find in other publications, drawing on Palestinian, international and Israeli sources, as well as direct investigative reporting on developments in Washington and U.S. policy, and reporting events in communities throughout the United States.

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